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643 Pilgrims' club, London



SPEECHES MADE AT A DINNER

GIVEN BY

THE PILGRIMS

ON THE OCCASION OF THE

ENTRY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
INTO THE GREAT WAR OF FREEDOM.

GUEST OF HONOUR:

HIS EXCELLENCY
THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR,

SAVOY HOTEL, LONDON

Thursday, April 12th, 1917.

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Aims and Ideals of the Allies and America

" In the past fifteen years there have been many notable gatherings under the auspices of the Pilgrims' Club, but none of them can be said to have surpassed or, perhaps even equalled, in interest and importance a dinner given at the Savoy Hotel last night, to celebrate the entrance of America into the war. Since its formation in the summer of 1902, the club has steadily pursued its purpose of endeavouring to strengthen the good relations between Great Britain and the United States. In this worthy aim Pilgrims on both sides of the Atlantic have co-operated with great enthusiasm, and, whether British or American, they hailed with joy the decision that America was to range herself on the side of the Allies in the fight for freedom.

" The speeches were few. Viscount Bryce submitted the toast of the evening—"The United States and the Cause of Freedom." As one who was Great Britain's Ambassador at Washington for six years, he naturally was able to speak from the standpoint of a close observer of American life and character. That the entry of our new Ally into the arena of the world conflict will mean a shortening of the war was clearly the view that he desired to impress upon his audience. Lord Robert Cecil, to whom was entrusted the duty of supporting the toast, paid a

high tribute to the work of Mr. Page as Ambassador in this country, and, like the President, he hailed the action of the United States as a step likely to bring speedier victory for the Allied cause.

"Mr. Page, whose reception was marked by the greatest cordiality, replied, and declared that most of the differences between the two countries were merely superficial. "Some have been manufactured by agitation," he said, "but none of them need or can separate us in the future development of national freedom based on individual freedom.

"To express their deep appreciation of the splendid efforts continually made on behalf of British prisoners by Mr. Gerard during his period as American Ambassador to Germany, an illuminated scroll, which had been prepared for the Pilgrims, was signed during the progress of the dinner by members of the club. It will be forwarded to Mr. Joseph H Choate, President of the Pilgrims of America, by whom it will be handed over to Mr. Gerard." (*Daily Telegraph*.)

Viscount BRYCE: My Lords and Gentlemen, I give you our first toast. It is a toast we always drink at a Pilgrims' gathering like this, coupling the two names, but we have never drunk it before with so strong a sense of what it means to us for the present and the future, as that with which we drink it now. I give you the toast of the King and the President of the United States.

The toast was accorded musical honours.

Mr. HARRY E. BRITTAIN : Mr. Chairman, your Excellency, and brother Pilgrims, I do not wish to detain you more than a brief moment before the real proceedings of the evening begin, but I should like, if I may, to read two cables which have arrived within the last few minutes from New York.

The first is from our good friends and fellow members, the Pilgrims of America, and reads as follows : " At last the Union Jack and Stars and Stripes are nailed to the same staff not to come down until the job is done. Our boys in khaki are anxious to rub shoulders with yours in France and share your struggle and your triumph in Freedom's cause. The Pilgrims' dream of 15 years at length has come to pass.—(Signed) George T. Wilson, Chairman." (Loud cheers.)

The other message is from one who has been frequently and deservedly called the " Allies' best friend in America," that very excellent Pilgrim, James M. Beck. His cable reads : " Joyous felicitations to British Pilgrims now assembled to celebrate unity in blood-brotherhood of English-speaking races. The day which Prussia did not want has come, when the flags of Great Britain, France and the United States float together in defence of civilisation. All hail the greater entente which opens a new and more resplendent chapter in the history of our common race. To all who welcomed me so kindly last summer a cordial greeting in this great hour.—(Signed) James M. Beck." (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

VISCOUNT BRYCE: Your Excellency, my Lords and Gentlemen, before I give you the toast of the evening, I must express the regret of the Pilgrims, and that of the Committee in particular, that Mr. Arthur Balfour, who was to have presided this evening, and whom we specially desired to preside, because he was, as a leading member of the Government and as representing the Foreign Office, the fittest person to convey the feelings of this country to the American Ambassador, has been suddenly called away by an urgent summons of duty.

In his absence I have been called upon to take his place, regretting very much that he is not here and that he has not been able to do what he would have done best.

And now I have to give you the toast of the United States—(cheers)—the United States and the cause of freedom, and with that the health of our guest of this evening, the Ambassador, Mr. Page, who has won not only our respect and admiration but our affection also. (Cheers.)

There are, my lords and gentlemen, some occasions too great for words. Such is the occasion which brings us together to-night, for it opens a new chapter in the history of the world. (Hear, hear.) There never has been anything like it before, and there never can in this planet of ours be anything quite like it again. (Hear, hear.)

When the United States of America, renouncing the isolation which it had cherished since the days of Washington, obeyed the supreme call of duty and set herself in arms beside the free nations of the world in order to save the future of humanity, she took a step full of solemn

significance for all the ages to come.
(Cheers.)

The motives which guided the United States in this momentous step have been set forth by her President in language lofty and inspiring, language which expresses the highest ideals of American statesmanship and the highest aspirations of the American people in terms worthy of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln.
(Hear, hear.)

It is not for me now to do more than admire the vigour, the energy and the earnestness in which he set forth the feelings and the motives of the United States. But I may perhaps be permitted to call your attention for a moment to a single instance of the wisdom and tact he showed when he drew a clear distinction between the German Government and the German people. That was valuable for two reasons. In the first place it was a deserved recognition of the fact which you, Mr. Page, and many others here know better than I do, that there are hundreds of thousands of persons of German origin in the United States who are honest, kindly, genial and humane men, and disapprove of the actions of the German Government every bit as much as we do here. (Hear, hear.)

Don't let us think that because an American citizen may bear a German name he is inclined to approve of the actions of the German Government. Nothing could be further from the truth. There was another reason, also. It was wise in Mr. Wilson to let it be known to the German people in Germany that it was not any hatred to them but a righteous indignation at the conduct

of their Government that has aroused the sentiments of mankind generally against Germany. (Hear, hear.) We have no hatred, any more than native Americans have for the German people, but the German Government we detest, for it has been doing all it can to bring back barbarism into the world. (Hear, hear.)

All the best and wisest thinkers during three or four centuries past have been devoting their efforts to diminish the risks of war, to limit the methods of conducting it by careful regulations, to soften as far as possible the horrors and sufferings which are inseparable from war by extending the largest measure of protection to non-combatants. All this the German Government has been trying to undo. It has sacrificed everything to, and it is prepared to justify everything by, the interests of its own State. It has said, in the words of a prominent character in "Paradise Lost," "Evil, be thou my good." It has made itself the enemy of law and international right, the enemy of the rights of small nations, the enemy of justice to the innocent and compassion to the suffering. (Hear, hear.) It has made itself the enemy of mankind. (Hear, hear.)

Happily, gentlemen, the German Government is in some things as ignorant as it is malevolent. It has been ignorant of the spirit and temper of Britain; it has been ignorant of the spirit and temper and loyalty of the great Dominions. (Hear, hear.) How little let me say to you who are here present from Canada and South Africa, New Zealand and Newfoundland, Sir Robert Borden and General Smuts, Mr.

Massey and Sir Joseph Ward, and Sir Edward Morris—how little did it understand the mind and feelings of the peoples of those Dominions whom you represent here to-night. It fancied they would stand aloof, indifferent to the fate of Britain, but in the first hours of war, before even the arms had begun to clash, all the Dominions announced their resolve to rush to the defence of the Empire and the Mother Country.

The greatest mistake of all that the German Government made was when it misunderstood the United States of America. (Hear, hear.) It thought, Mr. Page, that you were a people lapped in luxurious ease and devoted to the piling up of wealth, and that you had no interest in the welfare of other countries. It fancied that because America loved peace she did not care for honour. It believed it could insult you with impunity, never having studied your character enough to know that America loved honour and freedom beyond all other things. (Cheers.)

Seeing the energy you throw into commerce and industry, they did not realise that there is nowhere in the world a higher or a more pervasive idealism than that which possesses the American people. No one can stay a year in America—much less as it was my good fortune to do, six years—without perceiving that there is not a country in which the ideal stands more before the mind of the nation and of thinking men as individuals, and where there is a stronger wish to make their country worthy of the unequalled opportunities it enjoys, worthy in the highest sense of the word of the mission

to which, as Americans believe, Providence has called it.

That is what the European world is waking up to understand about America, and the Germans are now knowing, and will further know, to their cost.

Here let me pause one moment to remind you of what America had done before she entered the war. I do not speak merely of the supplies that we and our Allies have drawn from the United States. I speak of the work of humanity Americans have been doing. Let us never forget how much we owe to the efforts of the American Embassies, to what Mr. Page and his staff here have done, to what Mr. Gerard did in Berlin—(cheers)—to soften the cruel lot of our prisoners in Germany, to what Mr. Morgenthau did in Turkey and Mr. Whitlock in Belgium, to what the private charity of many thousands of generous American citizens has done for the suffering populations of Belgium and of Northern France, and the even more cruelly treated Armenian Christians in the East. (Hear, hear.)

There are seven and a-half million people in Belgium whom the Germans ought to have fed, but whom they left to famine. There were two and a-half million of Frenchmen in Northern France whom their own Government was unable to reach, and who would have perished from starvation had it not been for the energetic initiation of American charity which was maintained with such vigour by that noble energetic American, Mr. Hoover. (Hear, hear, and cheers.)

We all owe a great debt of gratitude to that man, that noble and large-

hearted American, who has shown what American resourcefulness and organisation can accomplish when it sets itself to the work. You will all be glad to know that the splendid services which Mr. Hoover has rendered have been appreciated by his own Government, and they have put him in the position of Food Controller—not food dictator—there are no dictators there. (Laughter.) He now has assumed responsibility for the collection and distribution of all food products which will be required for the future support of human life in Belgium.

You will be glad to know that the organisation in America for the continued supply of food to Belgium is to be maintained, and although the American citizens cannot any longer be there to superintend the distribution of the food, for that must be left to the Dutch and Spanish Governments, the sending thither of the supplies still remains under the direction of our American friends. (Cheers.)

And now, gentlemen, what is America going to do in this war? She is already doing what those who knew her best expected from her. She waited long enough to be quite satisfied that honour and duty called her to arms. She gave ample rope to the Germans and they abused her patience. (Hear, hear.) Now after long forbearance, when she was satisfied that the German Government was resolved to persevere with its barbarous and insulting policy, and that the whole feeling of the nation had been so roused and concentrated as to be virtually unanimous, then America stepped to the front; then she bared

her strong arm; then she began to throw all her resources, all her energy, all her inventive versatility, into the development of every possible means she possessed for the vigorous prosecution of the war.

All classes joined, capitalists, manufacturers, the vast host of workers, and there was shown what is no less precious than energy, a wonderful spirit of patriotic unity. All parties joined to make the war national. May I refer to the gallantry and forceful ardour with which Colonel Roosevelt—well known to many of us here—(cheers)—has come forward? Need I refer also to that brilliant and striking speech, full of the spirit and of genuine patriotism which was made by Mr. Root in New York a few days ago? He said: "There is no need for a Coalition Government; I am a Republican, and this is a Democratic Administration. But we are all, Republicans just as heartily as Democrats, going to support this Democratic President and this Democratic Congress in carrying on the war." That is the spirit in which great nations, inspired by high purposes address themselves to their work.

Gentlemen, America is in the war now for all she is worth—(hear, hear)—and how much that means those best know who know America best. (Cheers.) She will persevere to the end, for she knows what a successful end means for the future welfare of the world. And now the question arises in all our minds, How is her co-operation going to shorten the war? That is the thing that America cares most for, as we too care most for it when we think of the

enormous mass of human suffering which the war is daily inflicting.

Now can you doubt that the entrance of America will shorten the war? I see signs of it already, signs at Berlin, signs at Vienna, alarms on the banks of the Spree, panic on the banks of the Danube.

With what arguments is the German Government trying to comfort its subjects? It has no longer victories to point to. It is driven to fall back upon several propositions. They have a fondness for **general propositions** which to them have a flavour of philosophy. Germany, they say, will not be overcome because she cannot be overcome. Hindenburg is infallible. His strategy is, and always has been, right—(laughter)—and therefore that which would appear to be a mistake or a reverse if directed by anyone else but Hindenburg, becomes in Hindenburg's hands not a defeat but a victory. (Laughter.)

Perhaps they are saying that now about the Battle of Arras. We are willing to allow them many more of such victories—(hear, hear, and cheers)—and I am sure that there is no less joy at this moment on the banks of the Hudson and the Mississippi than there is on the banks of the Thames at the splendid valour shown by Englishmen, Scotsmen and Irishmen, and by Canadians and Australians no less, in that glorious fight at Arras.

But you will have already noticed from what is passing in Germany that its Government is getting anxious. It has begun to make promises of political reform; the franchise is to be extended. Nobody supposes that the Government desires political reform.

It is not to the taste of the military class, which has fixed its yoke on the people. No : this is promised because the German Government discovers amongst the people signs of dissatisfaction and distress. These promises of reform have the air of a deathbed repentance. (Cheers.)

The work of freeing Germany will be done, but not by Prussian Junkerism. What the people desire, and have long desired, they will one day win for themselves—(hear, hear)—take, as the people of Russia have done, and the example of Russia will rouse them, so soon as their military rulers have been discredited by failure and defeat, to secure for themselves that freedom which they had nearly won in 1848.

I have left to the last what seems to me to be perhaps the greatest of all the services that the entrance of America will render to our common cause. Besides the financial aid she so heartily offers to the Allies; besides the ships which are to bring to ourselves and to France food; besides the vessels of war that will come to aid us in patrolling the seas; besides the torpedo destroyers to hunt down the submarines; besides those airmen that come from the land where the brothers Wright were the first to see what might be done in the wide fields of the air; besides those soldiers whom we hope before long, even if at first only in a small force, will be seen with the Stars and Stripes fluttering above them on the battlefield—that flag which you, my American friends, call “Old Glory”—there is another thing of inestimable value that America brings to the Allies’ side. Her joining in this war represents the conscience.

and the impartial judgment of the world upon the moral issues which are involved in this conflict.

America was not involved in the original quarrel. She is seeking nothing for herself. She has no territory to gain, no animosities to indulge. (Cheers.) She has come into this war because she sees that it is a battle of honour against perfidy, of cruelty against compassion, of freedom against despotism—(cheers)—and she has seen that the permanent peace which is the ultimate goal of her efforts and of which such wise and prophetic words have been spoken by her President—she has seen that the permanent peace she desires can be obtained only by smiting down the inveterate enemy of peace as well as of freedom. (Cheers.)

America is with us because she loves Justice and Right. She speaks for the conscience of mankind. This, gentlemen, is the first time that the American and British forces will have ever fought together on the soil or in the waters of Europe. (Hear, hear.) But ages and ages ago, more than a thousand years ago, the ancestors of those who are English and Americans to-day were living together in the pleasant fields of England side by side, and were defending England under the sceptre of King Alfred against enemies who came from over the seas in those far-off days.

And ever since those days, whether under one Government or whether under different Governments, the descendants of those ancestors have continued to value the same ancient traditions, to cherish the same

ideals, to be animated by the same free spirit; as they have spoken the same language they have enjoyed the same incomparable literature.

And now at last an even closer fusion has come, and, as was said by our great poet in the days of the Commonwealth,

“ We see a mighty and puissant nation
Shaking her invincible locks, and we
Arise, rejoice to march beside her
To victory in a righteous cause.”

(Cheers.) My Lords and Gentlemen, I give you the toast of the United States and the cause of freedom. (Loud cheers.)

LORD ROBERT CECIL: Lord Bryce, Your Excellency, my Lords and Gentlemen: I feel I owe this assembly an apology for venturing to add anything to what has been so eloquently said by your President this evening. My only excuse is the direct orders of the President himself.

My lords and gentlemen, I should like, if I might, to add one word, one subject to the many which have been touched upon by Lord Bryce, and that is the subject of the cause of this function—Mr. Page. Many of us are proud to reckon him one of our best and most valued friends—(cheers)—but he is much more than a great friend, he is a great Ambassador.

Without being indiscreet, I might now say that the task of the Ambassador in this country has not always been a perfectly easy one. In a great war such as we are going through now, controversies must arise; controversies have arisen between his country and ours, but this we may say, and say with absolute conviction,

that everything that could be done to smooth over these controversies, to remove misunderstandings, and to promote sympathy between the two peoples, has been done by Mr. Page. (Cheers.)

May I add—and my only excuse for speaking to you besides the President's command is because I am connected with the office of the gentleman who was to have presided over you this evening—may I add, and I think Mr. Page will agree with me, that he has received all assistance possible from the present Foreign Secretary and his predecessor in that office.

I do not think that it would be any exaggeration to say of each of these distinguished statesmen, that neither of them had any more passionate political desire than the friendship of the British Empire and the United States. (Cheers.)

May I add one word about the staff of the American Embassy? (Hear, hear.) Many of us have had personal relations of a very friendly kind with several members of that staff, and they have always preserved the most accurate and correct neutrality in talking to us—(laughter)—but somehow or another, after a conversation with any one of them we went away feeling as one does, after having received a hearty grasp of the hand from a friend and an earnest and heartfelt wish of God-speed to our cause. (Cheers.)

Well, gentlemen, neutrality is no longer necessary—(hear, hear)—and we all say "Thank God for that." (Hear, hear.) Your President has touched on many aspects of this great event and I do not propose to detain you for more than a moment on

the subject, but I shall carry every man in the room with me when I say that the importance of this happening is difficult to realise and is impossible to exaggerate. (Hear, hear.)

It is not merely the material assistance. (Hear, hear.) I agree with every word that has fallen from Lord Bryce about the enormous importance of the great resources which America will be able to place at the service of the Allies. It may be, indeed, that these resources will prove vital to our success, at any rate, vital to our sooner success. Nor is it important merely because it is a great and resounding blow against the unprovoked aggression on neutral rights which has been committed by our enemy. Much more than that, is the fact that now for the first time the United States and the British Empire are to fight side by side in a worthy cause.

What that struggle may have in store for us all none of us know. It may mean, it probably will mean, bitter suffering endured jointly by us. We feel sure it will ultimately mean glorious triumph enjoyed jointly by both parties. (Cheers.)

But whatever the fellowship of suffering and triumph may have to show us in the future, I cannot doubt that the association of these two nations will be a great thing for themselves, and if I may say so, an even greater thing for the world. (Cheers.)

In the dark days which have come upon us during the war, and it would be affectation to deny that there have been dark days for each of us, and for all of us, one hope has buoyed us, beyond that of the eventual triumph we all believe in. We all hope that

at the end of the war there will be a new birth for the nations of the world. We all hope for a peace founded upon right, for the substitution of international law, a real international law, for the international anarchy which at present exists. (Hear, hear.)

Your President said just now that America was an idealistic State. I believe that this nation of shopkeepers and that nation which has been held up to be the worshippers of the dollar are amongst the most idealistic nations of the world. It is perhaps for this reason that I profoundly believe that one day we shall achieve a condition when unprovoked aggression by one nation upon another will be as rare and as despicable as unprovoked aggression by one man upon another. (Hear, hear.)

It is because I believe that is the real goal for which we are striving, the true achievement for which we are fighting, and because I think these dreams, if they be dreams, can be turned into reality by the help of the people of America, that I welcome this event as I have never welcomed any event in history before. (Cheers.)

And if these great results are to be achieved, we may truly say that a great part of the honour and credit for their achievement will be possessed by your Excellency, Mr. Walter Hines Page, whose health I venture to drink. (Cheers.)

The toast was received with the greatest possible enthusiasm.

The Hon. WALTER HINES PAGE: Lord Bryce, my Lords and Gentlemen, the wel-

come of my country into this conflict which you are kind enough to express by your presence is itself most welcome to us; for we have set out with you now in a righteous struggle in defence of good faith between nations and of the immutable principles of free government. (Cheers.)

We are come to save our own honour and to uphold our ideals—come on provocation done directly to us. But we are come also for the preservation, the deepening, and the extension of free government. And this every American reared on the doctrines and the deeds of our political and military fathers, instinctively feels.

Our creed is the simple and immortal creed of democracy, which means government set up by the governed; for this alone can prevent physical or intellectual or moral enslavement.

This is the ideal towards which the whole world is now moving along bloody paths, but moving by the impulsion of a great ethical force towards the ideals of democracy.

None of these old lands, not even the freest of all, will ever again slip back to its ante-bellum self-contentment. It is a colossal upheaval which will turn the world into a better home for free men—so colossal that it staggers prophecy, but this much at least is true: so soon as its barbarisms and personal sorrows recede somewhat in memory, and we can look over the shattered world and plan for its rebuilding, we shall reconstruct human society better than it ever was and on a firmer basis. Every thoughtful man carries this conviction dimly or clearly in his mind. Else the end

would be now, for hope would die out of us.

As for the particular aspects of this great subject with which this Club has from its beginning had to do—the closer sympathy of the two branches of the English-speaking peoples—next to the removal of the great menace to free government, which is the prime purpose of the war, this closer sympathy will be to us the most important result of the victory. (Cheers.) It will be important not only to us on each side of the Atlantic, but also to all other free nations. There can be no assured and permanent stability without it. The ranged arches of any world-structure will fall without our united support.

Seven years ago an Admiral of our Navy — Rear Admiral Sims — who sits now at this table, declared in the Guildhall that if ever the English race were pressed hard for ships every ship that the United States had would come to her rescue. A great prophet as well as a great seaman, he has not been rebuked for that on this side of the water. (Cheers.)

I wish most earnestly to declare in this presence that, in my judgment the differences that have arisen in the immediate past between our two Governments and peoples have suffered enormous exaggeration. In saying this I pay a tribute to the pervasive malevolence of the German world-wide propaganda that has been carried on for many years. There is no conceivable device that has not been used on your side and particularly on our side to make a breach between us and to magnify every petty disagreement into a quarrel. Yet, in spite of this and in spite of

every effort and influence of a like kind, British-American relations have remained fundamentally friendly and sound. (Hear, hear.)

The foundations of our instinctive and necessary friendship have never been shaken. They are set too firmly even for the shocks of this war to have moved them—too firmly in blood and in institutions and in aspirations, in literature and language and in manifest destiny. At bottom there is unity in all the great aims of our life—in the value set upon individual liberty, in the great scheme of free government, in the type of character that the English-speaking world has evolved, in standards of fair conduct and of honour, in family relations, in hospitality, in genuineness and in truth-telling. The same genuine human coin rings true to each of us, and the same false human coin rings false to each of us. (Hear, hear.)

There are no other two different and independent great nations in the world and there never were two others that had so much in common. (Hear, hear.) American participation in the war proves this fundamental unity in the large aims of national life. Why else have we been drawn into this grim Old-World bloody struggle—drawn in against our traditions and surely against our wishes and against the most patient efforts to keep out of it—this struggle with the causes of which we had nothing to do? We have no old wrongs to avenge, no conquests that we wish to make, no hatred of any people, we covet no territory, we seek no indemnities. Why do we come except that our standard of

honour and our judgment of safety are the same as yours? (Cheers.) We set the same value that you set on freedom and on good faith.

Our unity of aim and the identity of our larger ideals are the more significant because of the separate and independent character of each Government and of each people, a fact, I fear, we sometimes forget. We are not the same, very far from it. We have many differences. It has been a surprise to me since my residence among you to discover unexpected divergencies in our thought and life. There are subjects on which we do not see eye to eye. There are conflicting differences, habits, points of view. Tolerance will always have a wide space to cover. (Hear, hear.)

Our larger land, our newer admixture of blood, our difference of social structure, our smaller burden of traditional impedimenta — (laughter) — these imply and compel not only variety, but divergent views and habits. We are not one people, except in after-dinner speeches. (Laughter.) I have seen many a man who had accepted the rhetorical assurance of complete unity suffer a shock on closer acquaintance. I beg to remind you of one good law of frank and sensible national intercourse, namely, while earnest and honest men must be sentimental, for sentiment is one of the great qualities of right feeling, it becomes tiresome and misleading to talk too sentimentally. Some of our differences, which we must in frankness recognise, are historical, perhaps by this time, fundamental. But most of them are superficial. Some of them have been

manufactured by agitation. But none of them need or can separate us in the further development of national freedom based on individual freedom.

Our two Governments, you will agree with me, are the ripest products of human experience and of collective human intelligence ever set up in the world. But all Governments have certain limitations and awkwardnesses and infelicities of conduct because free governments must serve their contentious citizens as well as their contented ones. (Laughter and applause.) Thus, it comes about, if my observation be correct, that our differences are made the most of in each country in political circles; for you will discover that in most other circles in each country our likelinesses and our friendship and not our differences are chiefly thought of. Diversity and variety, individuality and mutual rivalry and mutual vanity will continue to have free play and ought to have. But with mutual respect, now more than ever firmly established, when the great German menace to freedom is removed, I have no apprehensions whatever about our relations for any time that need now concern us. And our partnership in the war will make this surer and clearer.

Our association in the war will do more to make us forget each others' idiosyncracies—(laughter)—and to remember each others' virtues—(hear, hear)—than all other events of the last one hundred years. We shall get out of this association an indissoluble companionship and we shall henceforth have mutual duties to mankind.

I doubt if there could be another international event comparable in large value

and in long-consequence to this closer association. I regard it as the supreme political event of all history. (Cheers.) There is good hope that it will make certain the co-operation of most of the organised human race to prevent intermittent devastations of the world.

Such a union of purpose would be much less sure of success if either great branch of the English-speaking world were lacking; for it would lose a moral support out of proportion to the physical strength of either great nation, great as that physical strength is. For my part, therefore, I am stirred to the depths of my nature by this American companionship in arms with the British and their Allies—(applause)—not only for the quicker ending of the war, but, I hope, for a moral union which will bring a new era in international relations.

When the war is done we shall be able to foresee more accurately the orbic movement of civilisation, and we shall think in larger units than we have ever been able to think in hitherto. (Hear, hear.)

Our country, as you know, has long held to its policy of avoiding entangling alliances in Europe. The Holy Alliance taught us that the value of contracts depends on the character and not on the pious names of both contracting parties—(laughter)—a lesson that we have had very recent opportunities to learn over again.

Complete confidence makes alliances unnecessary and distrust may make them valueless.

Therefore, during the period of our great tasks of internal development—tasks as great as all Europe put together had during

the same period—we wisely kept ourselves and our energies at home. We had a splendid isolation. But changes have come swiftly in our time. Real aloofness implied distance, and distance is no more. Aloofness implied slowness of communication and lack of trade. Great trade has come and communication is swifter than any dreamer could ever have dreamed it would be. All the other causes of sharp separation likewise have disappeared.

We had before the war reached by a natural process a stage in our development where aloofness was itself fast fading into the impossible; and this great struggle which we shall now share with you and your Allies will hasten its fading.

The feeling has been growing for several years, and I might say for several decades, to a degree unconscious and not clearly thought out by the man on the prairie, that a determined political aloofness from Europe had ceased in itself to be a virtue.

We do not wish any entangling alliances—who does?—(laughter)—nor dynastic commitments—why should we? We are no longer afraid of what the Prime Minister to-day called the “old tricks of Kings” and in trade and all the natural rivalries of free peoples, we are quite willing to take care of ourselves, but I should say that we are far less likely to contract dangerous entanglements in Europe by rendering you and your Allies what help we can than we should be by longer remaining remote. (Cheers.)

If we are not afraid of our common enemy, we surely are not afraid of our friends. (Hear, hear.) As, therefore,

under our great first President, we adopted a policy of isolation which was wise and safe for that time and for a hundred years afterwards, we seem likely under our latest great President at least to become more neighbourly; and to use a phrase of a distinguished predecessor of mine, trusting to you also to mend your old-time ways of showing a certain condescension to foreigners. (Laughter.)

Another domestic change that the war will work in our habits will be, perhaps, somewhat to guard our gates against too promiscuous an influx. We shall never cease to be hospitable to the oppressed nor to the unfortunate nor to those that wish to become part and parcel of our commonwealth. But hospitality that becomes too promiscuous is likely to suffer abuse. The test of admission will be a sound body and a real desire to become American and not a purpose to use America to aid an alien government. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

But I assure you that the melting pot does melt its contents, better, I fancy, than you think. You have been kind enough and ignorant enough of our population—(laughter)—to fear that our lampposts might have to be put to a new kind of illumination. (Laughter.) The assimilative capacity of our mobile society has, I think, not been over-taxed and surely not understood. Perhaps you have not made sufficient allowance for the beneficent influence of our democracy in changing the character and outlook of men and in stimulating as well as in assimilating them who live in its free atmosphere. (Hear, hear.)

And men here have asked me with concern about the attitude of the Middle West. We have our sectional jealousies, as you have. And men who live on the prairies do not get together so quickly and in such large groups as in large cities. But the Middle West has never been lacking when a national duty called us. It continued to fight one war, you may recall, **after peace had been declared.** (Laughter.) It sent more than its proportion of men to our civil war. It gave us Lincoln and Grant. It has proportionately more now in the Canadian army in France than any other part of the Union. (Cheers.) I am told that these inland States where many men never saw the sea nor a ship, contribute proportionately more men to our navy than the states on the seaboard.

The United States, gentlemen, is *one*—(cheers)—in this deep stirring that now moves its people; and what I have said about the loyalty of our Middle West I could say with equal truth about any section of the Union.

If I may inoffensively say so, I have heard more about the differences between England, Scotland and Wales, and between English, and Scotch and Welsh these four years that I have lived here than I heard in the United States about similar differences there for the preceding half century. (Laughter.) I have not yet wholly recovered from the shock I received when I discovered that there is a journal in London whose purpose is to prove that all the great men this island has produced have been Englishmen, and that there is another

journal whose aim is the independence of Scotland; and one of your poets recently wrote a volume of verse to prove that your ruling class is to this day—and has been since 1066—the Normans. (Laughter.) The other races that have contributed to the most remarkable mingling of blood that ever took place—they, according to your poet—are yet under the heel of the Normans. (Laughter.)

Now there are no corresponding phenomena in the United States. (Laughter.) We come into this struggle, all American. One of our poets in celebrating the changes that our democracy makes in men and in their chances wrote this :

"Twas glory once to be a Roman,
"Tis glory now to be a man.

(Hear, hear.)

High spiritual exaltation does not come by direct seeking; it is an exhalation of noble effort. The most enduring companionship does not come of expressing mutual regards, but of a common struggle in some high and dangerous task.

Winning a righteous war together is worth more than most other experiences, by revealing real men to real men, to bind them together in all common high aims, and for all times.

Our American fathers indulged the hope that, following their example, all nations would soon become democracies. The Americans of every generation have had this same dream. During this century-and-a-half many monarchies have become democratic and there has been much progress made in the extension of liberalism

and freedom. But even during that long period all countries have not become democratic; some of them have been disastrously slow about it. But the tumbling of autocracies does at last seem to be at hand; and if the abysmal crash of them could not come except through war, that makes war more welcome.

The war supplies both an occasion and a necessity for their passing from the earth with other great historic wrongs; and this, too, makes it the more just in the judgment of the Republic.

My lords and gentlemen, your generous and great compliment to me by making this large gathering in my honour, is your way of expressing appreciation of the action of the Government and people that I represent and of the President at whose high command I have the honour to be among you in these historic and immortal days. I thank you with deep emotion.

If there be even a slight undertone in your kind greetings that is meant for me also, I should be ungracious not to recognise it. About that I shall not trust myself to speak my appreciation further than to say that if I have quarrelled myself into your respect and regard during these three years of the war, I believe our friendship—yours and mine, I mean—gives promise of enduring in the times before us. (Very prolonged cheers.)

The proceedings terminated with the singing of "Auld Lang Syne."

The following cablegrams, delayed in transmission, unfortunately did not arrive until the proceedings were over.

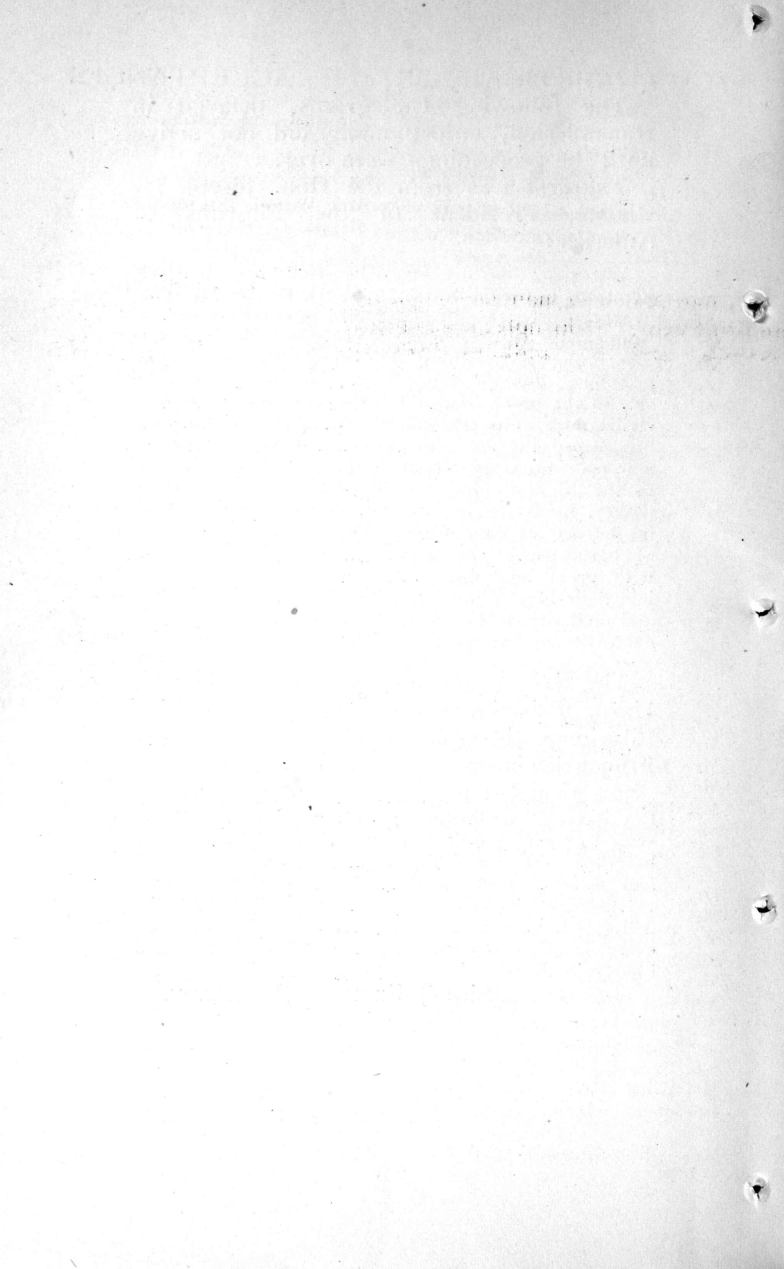
The first was from the Hon. Joseph H. Choate, President of the Pilgrims of America :—

American Pilgrims send heartfelt and patriotic greetings to their beloved Allies, the British Pilgrims, as they foregather to do honour to the American Ambassador to the Court of St. James. At last our two nations, cherishing the same ideals, the same principles, and the same hopes, are to fight side by side in the great contest for freedom and justice and civilisation. Our President's Message to Congress has placed the entry of the United States into the war upon no selfish or sordid ground. By appealing to the highest ideals of English and American liberty, he is leading us in the way we should go in defence of humanity itself against the assaults of barbarism. The people of the United States, with great unanimity, welcome the opportunity to join their new Allies in the winning of that complete and final victory which alone can ensure the permanent peace of the world.

The second message was received by Mr. Harry Brittain, Chairman of the British Pilgrims, through the courtesy of the French Embassy :—

The English, Italian, and French Delegations of the inter-Allied Parliaments now in session here, send to their American and British friends their heartiest wishes and their fraternal greetings. They feel proud that the great American democracy, true to its traditions, now stands side by side with the Allies, who are more than ever determined to face every sacrifice to ensure the triumph of justice and liberty in the world.

(Signé) FRANKLIN BOUILLON.



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